

## Message Text

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ACTION OES-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 ACDA-07 AGRE-00 AID-05

CEA-01 CEQ-01 CG-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 DLOS-09

DODE-00 DOTE-00 EB-08 EPA-01 ERDA-05 FEAE-00

FMC-01 TRSE-00 H-01 INR-07 INT-05 IO-13 JUSE-00

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 NSF-01 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /129 W

-----291923Z 058340 /44

R 291650Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6863

INFO CINCPAC

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

EC BRUSSELS 1130

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 5943

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR JA UR EFIS

SUBJECT: SOVIET-JAPANESE FISHING TALKS

REF: MOSCOW 5863

SUMMARY: SOVIET MFA OFFICIAL GAVE A VERY DIFFERENT VIEW OF SOVIET-JAPANESE FISHING TALKS, AND THE GENERAL STATE OF RELATIONS, THAN JAPANESE EMBOFF (REFTEL). THE LACK OF AGREEMENT IS ENTIRELY JAPAN'S FAULT, HE EMPHASIZED, AND IT IS UP TO JAPAN TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE. TALKS WILL RESUME ON MAY 3, AND MOSCOW IS HOPEFUL THAT  
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SOME SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND, BUT THE JAPANESE POSITION TO DATE HAS BEEN "ABSURD." ON FISHING PER SE, THE SOVIET OFFICIAL SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SHARP REDUCTION IN THEIR FISHING IN FOREIGN FISHING ZONES AND SEEK TO PROTECT THEIR CATCH, WITHOUT INFRINGING ON THE "TRADITIONAL" RIGHTS OF OTHERS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING POL COUNSELOR'S APRIL 28 CALL ON ANATOLIY A. ROZANOV, FORMER AMBASSADOR IDENTIFIED AS "EXPERT" OF THE SECOND FAR EAST DIVISION OF MFA, ROZANOV DISCUSSED THE PRESENT STATE OF SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS BASED ON HIS 30 YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCE, AND 15 YEAR OF DEALING WITH JAPANESE AFFAIRS. HE BEGAN BY SAYING THAT IT'S A GREAT MISTAKE IN DIPLOMACY TO DEPEND ON PRESS REPORTING TO GAGE POLICIES. THE PRESS IS FICKLE AND DOES NOT PROVIDE INSIGHT ON THE BASIC TRENDS IN NATIONAL LIFE. FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID, THE OKINAWA PROBLEM HAD GENERATED MUCH CONTROVERSY IN JAPAN BUT DID NOT PREVENT THE ADVANCE OF BASIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JAPAN. THE SOVIET UNION NOW SEES ITSELF IN A SIMILAR SITUATION. BOTH THE U.S. AND USSR, SAID ROZANOV, HAVE HAD "DARK PAGES" IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN BUT THOSE DAYS HAVE PASSED. ROZANOV CITED WITH APPROVAL A COMMENT BY FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR REISCHAUER THAT DEEPER AND MORE COMPLEX RELATIONS MEAN MORE PROBLEMS.

2. FISHING IS UNDENIABLY A BIG PROBLEM AT THE PRESENT AND THIS IS NOT LIMITED TO JAPAN, SAID ROZANOV. THE SOVIET UNION NOW TAKES SOMETHING OVER 10 MILLION TONS OF FISH PER YEAR BUT NEW LIMITATIONS WILL CUT THIS TO ABOUT 6 MILLION. FISHING IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE SOVIET DIET, MORE SO THAN FOR THE U.S. JAPAN TAKES NEARLY 2 MILLION TONS OF FISH IN THE AREA COVERED BY THE SOVIET FISHING ZONE AND THIS AMOUNTS

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TO JUST UNDER 20 PERCENT OF JAPAN'S TOTAL FISH CATCH PER YEAR. THE SOVIETS, BECAUSE OF THE NEW RESTRICTIONS, MUST FIND A PLACE TO MAKE UP THEIR OWN LOSSES AND THE ONLY POSSIBILITY IS IN THEIR OWN ZONE. ALSO, THERE IS AN OBVIOUS NEED TO PRESERVE FISH THROUGH SCIENTIFIC PROCESSES AND NOT TO DEplete THE RESOURCES. THE SOVIET UNION IS WILLING TO PERMIT JAPAN TO FISH IN THESE WATERS, AS THE U.S. ALSO DID IN ITS ZONE. IN FACT THE SOVIET UNION HAS RAISED NO DEMANDS BEYOND THOSE WHICH THE JAPANESE AGREED TO IN THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S., SAID ROZANOV.

3. THE JAPANESE POSITION, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE OLD SYSTEM MUST BE PRESERVED IN FULL WITHOUT ANY CHANGES AT ALL. THIS IS SIMPLY NOT REASONABLE, SAID ROZANOV. IN ADDITION JAPAN HAS A PROBLEM WITH THE DEFINITION OF THE ZONE AS IT APPLIES TO THE KURILES. BUT THE SOVIET REGULATION, PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON FEBRUARY 24, IS VERY EXPLICIT ON THIS POINT.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED A FISHING AGREEMENT WITHOUT  
FURTHER REFERENCE TO THE TERRITORY TO BE INCLUDED,  
BUT THIS WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE JAPANESE.  
UNFORTUNATELY, SAID ROZANOV, THIS ISSUE QUICKLY  
BECOME EMOTIONAL ON BOTH SIDES. IT IS, FOR EXAMPLE,  
"NOT UNDERSTANDABLE" THAT JAPAN NOT RECOGNIZE THE  
SOVIET ZONE. IT IS ENTIRELY THEIR PROBLEM, HE SAID,  
SINCE THEY ARE THE ONES WHO CLAIM THAT THE BOUNDARY  
SHOULD BE CHANGED. NOW THE JAPANESE DIET IS CONSIDERING  
LEGISLATION EXPANDING JAPANESE TERRITORIAL WATERS  
TO 12 MILES AND THE FISHING ZONE TO 200 MILES. THIS  
MOVE WILL SIMPLY BRING "A HEADACHE" TO THE FISHING  
DISCUSSIONS. COMPLETE AGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF  
THE ISLANDS IS "NOT POSSIBLE", SAID ROZANOV. THERE-  
FORE, IT IS BEST TO KEEP QUIET ABOUT IT. THE JAPANESE  
LEADERSHIP KNOWS THIS AND KNOWS THE DE FACTO SITUA-  
TION, BUT IT IS SUBJECT TO PRESSURES TO TAKE A STRONGER  
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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

4. TALKS WILL RESUME ON MAY 3, SAID ROZANOV, WHEN JAPAN'S MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES SUZUKI RETURNS TO MOSCOW. SOME SOLUTION MAY BE POSSIBLE BUT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT SINCE IT IS BASICALLY UP TO THE JAPANESE.

5. ANOTHER QUESTION CONCERNS SOVIET FISHING NEAR JAPAN. AT PRESENT THE SOVIETS TAKE ABOUT 350,000 TONS IN THE AREA BETWEEN 3 AND 12 MILES FROM THE JAPANESE COAST. MAKING THIS AREA INTO TERRITORIAL WATERS MAKES THE QUESTION OF CONTINUED FISHING FAR MORE COMPLEX. BUT  
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THIS IS NOT THE BASIC PROBLEM, HE SAID, AND IT IS ESSENTIAL TO KEEP THE PRIORITIES STRAIGHT. THE SOVIETS HAD NOT EXPECTED AND DID NOT WISH THAT THE FISHERIES TALKS WOULD BECOME POLITICAL. THIS IS JAPAN'S DOING AND IT IS UP TO JAPAN TO GET ITSELF OUT OF THIS PROBLEM. WHEN THE FEBRUARY 24 REGULATION WAS PUBLISHED, JAPAN PROTESTED AND THIS AUTOMATICALLY RAISED THE PROBLEM TO THE POLITICAL LEVEL. THE SOVIET UNION RESPECTS TRADITIONAL FISHING RIGHTS. THE QUESTION OF QUOTAS HAS NOT COME UP YET BUT THEY WILL "OF COURSE" BE DISCUSSED.

6. JAPAN USES PUBLICITY TO MAKE PRESSURE, ROZANOV ASSERTED. BASICALLY ALL JAPANESE, REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL COLORING, ARE JAPANESE FIRST AND LAST (LIKE THE CHINESE), HE SAID. THEY REFLECT A SORT OF "NATIONAL EGOTISM" WHICH IS BORN OF THEIR UNIQUE SITUATION AND THEIR UNIQUE VIEW OF THE WORLD. ROZANOV, REFERRING AGAIN TO HIS LONG EXPERIENCE, SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONS OR TALKS WITH THE JAPANESE MAY GO SMOOTHLY, BUT AFTERWARDS THE PRESS REPORTS GREAT DIFFICULTIES. IN THE PRESENT TALKS, FOR EXAMPLE, VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN RESOLVED, WITH ONLY ONE OR TWO ARTICLES REMAINING UNRESOLVED. THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM IS ONE OF THEM AND IT IS CLEARLY THE MOST DIFFICULT, BUT IT IS SOLVABLE IF THE JAPANESE WANT TO SOVE IT. A TEMPORARY AGREEMENT MIGHT BE ONE APPROACH. IF SUZUKI COMES BACK WITH "CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS", AGREEMENT WILL BE POSSIBLE.

7. ROZANOV SAID THAT OTHER AREAS OF SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS ARE "NOT LIKELY" TO BE AFFECTED BY THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE FISHING TALKS. TRADE IS GROWING AND IT IS NOT IN EITHER SIDE'S INTEREST TO DAMAGE THIS FRUITFUL RELATIONSHIP. PART OF THE PROBLEM IN JAPAN STEMS FROM DOMESTIC PRESSURE FROM "RIGHTIST CIRCLES" AND ALSO FROM "EXTERNAL FORCES" WHO DO NOT  
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FAVOR CLOSE SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. (ROZANOV SAID POINTEDLY THAT HE WAS NOT REFERRING TO THE U.S. AS ONE OF THESE FORCES HE CLEARLY IMPLIED PRC.) RETURNING AGAIN TO THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, ROZANOV SAID THAT THE JAPANESE MUST DECIDE HOW TO RESOLVE IT IN ORDER TO GET THE TALKS CENTERED AGAIN ON FISHING QUESTIONS. IT JAPAN HAD NOT BROUGHT IT UP IT COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED, HE SAID; JAPAN ASKED FOR CERTAIN WORDING, AND THE SOVIETS HAD TO RESPOND. YET THE ISSUE HAS LONG BEEN RESOLVED DE FACTO AND THE JAPANESE POSITION IN THIS CASE IS "ABSURD".

8. IN CONCLUSION RAZANOV SAID THAT JAPAN PROBABLY NEEDS THE FISHING AGREEMENT MORE THAN THE SOVIET UNION, BUT HE SAID THAT MOSCOW IS ALSO TRYING TO REACH A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL SOLUTION.  
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